

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY AF/E:GWSCOTT:PS  
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S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

-----211709Z 026117 /43

O 211620Z MAR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 062081

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ET, US

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE FOR MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MENGISTU

REFS: A) STATE 055978; B) ADDIS ABABA 1529; C) STATE  
O58000 -

1. IF YOU RECEIVE APPOINTMENT WITH MENGISTU, YOU SHOULD  
MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS IN YOUR PRESENTATION:

2. WE RECOGNIZE THAT EPMG IS IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENT-  
ING MAJOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS AND THAT IN A  
REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED PATTERNS

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OF RELATIONS ARE INEVITABLY ALTERED. WE WOULD, HOWEVER,  
BE LESS THAN CANDID IF WE FAILED TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY  
TO REGISTER OUR DISAPPOINTMENT AT OUR INABILITY TO HAVE  
CONTACT AT THE POLICY LEVELS OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT  
OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. WE FEEL THAT AN UNBIASED REVIEW  
OF THE RECORD OF OUR PROGRAMS IN ETHIOPIA OVER THE PAST  
TWO YEARS WILL SHOW THAT THE USG HAS CONTINUED TO SUPPORT

ETHIOPIA'S DEVELOPMENT DESPITE INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES.

3. WE HAVE STRENUOUSLY ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS THAT OUR LONG ASSOCIATION WITH ETHIOPIA IS NOT DEPENDENT UPON ONE PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT OR ONE PARTICULAR LEADER. OUR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA AND TANZANIA DEMONSTRATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH VARIOUS REGIMES. CONSISTENT WITH THIS PRACTICE, WE HAVE DILIGENTLY ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN OUR SIDE OF THE US/ETHIOPIAN RELATIONSHIP. WE HAVE CONTINUED OUR ECONOMIC AID, OFFERING TO PARTICIPATE IN EPMG PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE. IN SOME CASES, THESE ARE PROGRAMS WHICH WE LONG ADVOCATED IN VAIN TO THE EMPEROR.

WE HAVE ALSO ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ETHIOPIAN ARMED FORCES WITHIN THE LIMITS THAT OUR GENERAL POLICY PERMITS.

4. WE HAVE ALSO SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAINED FROM ANY COVERT OR OVERT ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT ENCOURAGE OR GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF ENCOURAGING ANY OF THE DOMESTIC OPPOSITION GROUPS. WE HAVE MAINTAINED OUR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN THE FACE OF SOME INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE TO MODIFY IT.

5. WE DO NOT PERCEIVE, HOWEVER, AN EQUIVALENT EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE EPMG. WHILE A DIPLOMATIC REALIGNMENT ON THE PART OF THE EPMG IS A MATTER ENTIRELY TO BE DETERMINED  
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BY THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, THE USG CANNOT AVOID NOTING WITH REGRET THAT THE RHETORIC AND POLICIES OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE LATELY ASSUMED A CONSISTENTLY ANTI-AMERICAN ASPECT. WORSE, THERE ARE CONSTANT BASELESS ACCUSATIONS THAT THE CIA IS AIDING OPPOSITION GROUPS, DESPITE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT SUCH INFLAMMATORY ACCUSATIONS WILL SERIOUSLY ENDANGER THE LIVES OF AMERICANS, MANY OF WHOM ARE HERE AT THE REQUEST OF THE EPMG.

6. OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE INTERESTS OF ETHIOPIA MERIT THAT, EVEN IF OUR GOVERNMENTS DISAGREE IN SOME AREAS, AT LEAST EACH HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS DIFFERENCES AT POLICY-MAKING LEVELS. UNTIL THIS MEETING, WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DO SO.

7. WE TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN OVER EVENTS IN ERITREA.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE QUESTION OF ERITREA IS AN INTERNAL

ETHIOPIAN AFFAIR; THE EPMG SHOULD KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT POPULAR OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES HAS GROWN CONCERNED THAT U.S. ARMS ARE BEING USED TO DENY BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE ERITREAN POPULATION. THIS CONCERN IS PARTIALLY REFLECTED IN THE DECISION TO END A MAP MATERIEL PROGRAM. WE, OURSELVES, BELIEVE THAT ANY HOPE FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM REQUIRES NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, AND THAT A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT WOULD GRANT AUTONOMY TO THE PROVINCE AT LEAST AS FULL AS THAT DESTROYED BY THE EMPEROR.

8. WE PARTICULARLY REGRET THE LACK OF HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATION CONCERNING DJIBOUTI SINCE AMBASSADOR HUMMEL LAST RAISED THE ISSUE WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT. IN LIGHT OF OUR SHARED CONCERN WITH YOU OVER POST-COLONIAL DJIBOUTI'S

ABILITY TO MAINTAIN ITS INDEPENDENCE, WE HAVE CONSIDERED WHAT STEPS WE CAN TAKE TO HELP. TO THAT END WE WILL  
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SHORTLY OPEN A CONSULATE GENERAL THERE. WE BELIEVE THAT SINCE DJIBOUTI'S ECONOMIC FUTURE DEPENDS ON GOOD RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA, THERE IS A REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT TO WORK WITH THE ISSAS AS WELL AS THE AFARS.

9. ON THE BROADER QUESTION, THE USG REMAINS WILLING TO DO ITS PART TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE, COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA. BUT SUCH AN EFFORT CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED TO THE US PEOPLE AND TO THE CONGRESS IF THERE ARE NOT CLEAR INDICATIONS IN SUBSTANCE AS WELL AS IN WORD THAT ETHIOPIA SHARES OUR DESIRE. WE HOPE THAT THE EPMG DESIRES SUCH A RELATIONSHIP AND WILL DISCUSS ITS POINT OF VIEW CANDIDLY WITH US IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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